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854 him into a more comfortable position. If he seems to be crying because he is sick, she tries to distract his attention by
[524] crooning to him, rocking him gently, and patting him. One mother, by putting a stone in a tin can, had invented a rattle which she used in these circumstances. Each time a mother reacts to her child's crying by discovering and removing the source of discomfort, she rewards this response in her child. The situation in Kwoma is such that, for the young infant, crying is followed by the alleviation of pain more frequently than is any other response.

When the infant begins to talk, he learns an even more efficient technique for securing help. A mother does not always know the trouble when her infant cries, but his words elicit immediate and appropriate help. A Kwoma infant who has learned to speak may say, "Mother, my back itches," or
[861] "I am cold; warm me." The mother rewards these demands by removing the source of discomfort. This indicates one of the advantages of learning language and hence why an infant is motivated to do so.

856 Thus during infancy the response to discomfort which is most strongly established is that of seeking help by crying or asking for it. Responses such as approaching the breast, moving to avoid pains, and other independent acts are also established. They form a basis for later learning, but hold a less important position in the response repertory of an infant than that of seeking help.

854 A motive which becomes strongly established during infancy is the wish to be near to and touch the mother. Almost all the pains and discomforts which an infant experiences are reduced while he is either sitting in his mother's lap or lying by her side. He is fed there, he sleeps there, and he is warmed and cooled, scratched and petted there—always while in bodily contact with his mother. The following case indicates the strong attachment that an infant has for his
854 mother's lap and how loath he is to leave it. Mbora one after-
• 866 noon was teaching her infant son Suw to venture from her lap. She was rolling a ball a little way from her and then

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putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.* Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

* Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

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been one that they had already learned during infancy. In any case neither parents nor older siblings scolded them for this behavior although it was often done in their presence. Kum showed considerable interest in the genitals of other males,[a] staring at those of his father and older brothers. Perhaps the discovery of his own penis as a source of gratification stimulated his interest in the genitals of others.

While a child is being weaned he must learn many new and independent habits for coping with pain. He has to warm himself by the fire rather than by contact with his mother's body. He must suffer the pain from pressure against his yaws sores, or change his position until the pain is relieved. He no longer has someone to brush the mosquitoes from him but must deal with them alone. He must go down to the spring with his older siblings and wash himself with cold water instead of being gently bathed by his mother with warm water. When it rains he must run into the house if he wishes to keep dry.

When a child is weaned he may no longer sit in his mother's lap by day nor lie by her side at night. This is apparently felt as the most severe frustration experienced at this period of life. No longer is it possible to attain the vantage point from which all drives have hitherto been satisfied.

Kum's behavior indicated an especially strong desire to be near his mother and to touch her. When she came back from work in the evenings he would usually clasp and hug her leg. When she left in the morning he would cling to her, begging to be taken with her. When she sat in the house making a net bag or cooking a meal, he would stand beside her and often lean against her shoulder. Chinuwa, the mother, would never allow him as much contact as he seemed to want. When he hugged her leg or leaned against her side she might tolerate it for a moment, but would soon push him away and tell him to stop annoying her. Kum reacted to one of these rebuffs by

[a] Both men and women in Kwoma society go naked with the exception of some of the young men who have, within the last few years, adopted the custom of wearing laplaps (calico wrap-around skirts) from their contact with Europeans, and a few of the younger women who have recently procured blouses from white traders.

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throwing himself on the ground screaming with rage. On another occasion he wept silently with his forefinger in his mouth. Usually, however, he would move away a little, look at his mother, and then move cautiously toward her again, as though in a state of conflict. Merik exhibited similar behavior, but to a less marked degree. His mother had not respected the prohibition against cohabitation while still nursing, so that his infancy period had been cut somewhat short by the birth of a younger sibling. His behavior seemed to indicate that he had already learned that he could not hope to regain his infantile pleasures, but that he was not yet mature enough to turn to the childhood play group.

With weaning, then, many of the demands which the Kwoma child has learned to make during infancy become no longer successful. His mother no longer responds in the same helpful way to many of his requests. His demands to be taken into her lap, scratched, patted, or warmed, are now ignored. When she no longer heeds his demands, he becomes more vociferous. Unless he is in serious danger, however, she still does not cater to him. He then reverts to the earlier response of crying. When this fails, he tries other responses in his repertory. For example, one morning Kum's mother put on her net bag to go to the swamp to collect sago. Kum, observing her, said, "Mother, I want to go too." "No," she replied, "you must stay at home." Kum repeated his request more vigorously, but his mother did not heed him. Then he began to cry, but still without success. His crying increased in intensity until he was screaming. His mother, having finished her preparations, started down the path. Kum ran after her and clasped her leg, trying to hold her back, and shrieking. When she disengaged her leg he threw himself on the ground and rolled over and over in the grass.

If a child is too vociferous and persistent in his demands, he is actually punished. One morning Kum was calling to his mother, who was a short way down the mountainside gathering firewood: "Mother, come! I am hungry. Mother, come! I am hungry." She answered at first that she would be home

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shortly. Kum kept on shouting until finally his mother stopped answering him. Then he began to wail. His older *brothers*, who were playing ball a short distance away, told him to be quiet. His stepmother, who was working in the house, after several times telling him to hush, finally gave him a scolding. 866

During the weaning period a child continues to receive help from his mother if he is in grave danger or sick. If he contracts malaria or some other serious disease, she will take him back into her lap and minister to him. If he has a headache or stomach-ache, she attempts to cure him by phlebotomy. When Kum once got lost in the forest, his mother and both his *brothers*, guided by his cries, searched until they found him and brought him home. Thus a child must learn to discriminate between serious dangers and minor pains. Demanding is still successful as a response to the former situation, but it is necessary to discover a new mode of coping with the latter. [757]

Parents and older siblings teach a child to anticipate pain. They point out dangers so that he may avoid them before he is hurt. They warn him about snakes, scorpions, nettles, and other objects in the natural environment that may injure him. He soon discovers that if he does not heed their warnings, the predicted pain does follow, and so he learns to heed them.

Parents and older siblings extend their warnings to include supernatural dangers. They tell the child that huge, snakelike monsters which cause storms dwell in the swamp, and that it is dangerous to go near their dwelling places. This danger is brought within the sphere of experience of the child when his mother tells him that a *marsalai* occupies her breast and vivifies the story by putting a leech on it. A child is also warned during the weaning period not to venture out at night, for this is the time when ghosts are abroad; and not to go too far from the house unless accompanied by an older person, for if he does a sorcerer may kill him. 869 866 [862]

A child at this age also learns that people as well as the 861

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861 natural environment may inflict pain upon him. His parents push him around, scold him, and sometimes even spank him.[7] They strike hard enough to give meaning to their commands and scolding, but not hard enough to injure him. His older siblings also scold and punish him. He learns to respond to punishments with two special forms of behavior: obeying and escaping. He learns that if he does as he is told he will not be punished. He also learns that if he runs away when someone threatens him he is less likely to be hit. Kum was playing with a broom one afternoon and started to take it out from under the porch. His older *sister* noticed this and told him to bring it back, starting toward him threateningly. Kum dropped the broom and ran. The *sister* did not pursue him.

866 862 Thus during the weaning period, except when he is in serious danger, a child is forced to give up demanding as the preferred response and must learn new and independent habits. He is aided in this learning by warnings from his parents [869] and older siblings. These warnings are extended to include beliefs about supernatural dangers. Finally, it is during this period that a child begins to experience pain from other persons and learns to obey commands and to escape from threats.

866 862 152 Weaning greatly increases a child's experience of anxiety. His desire to sit in his mother's lap and his fear of being pushed away and scolded for it, the desire to suckle and the belief that there is a *marsalai* in his mother's breast, the wish for his demands to be heeded and the punishments he receives for crying, all are anxiety-producing sources of conflict. As has already been shown, obeying, escaping, and learning new habits are the means by which he reduces these anxieties. Sickness, however, remains an unresolved source of anxiety.

865 Aggression still plays a minor rôle in the life of a Kwoma during the weaning period. In some ways aggressive behavior is less successful at this time than it was during infancy. Although the child becomes more adept at killing mosquitoes

[7] Kwoma parents customarily spank their children by striking them between the shoulder blades with their open hands. They do not hold the child, but chase him if he attempts to escape. The child is usually able to elude the parent after one or two blows have fallen.

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864 Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

757 Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independ-
593 ent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon
858 his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children [755] by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child coöperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

• 866 A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child

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may learn to avoid or kill a scorpion even though he has never been bitten by one. So it is with other dangers, especially the more serious ones; if children were permitted to learn to avoid wild boars or crocodiles by actually experiencing pain from them, the society would soon disappear. Parental warnings come true frequently enough so that children usually heed them.

A child is not permitted to show excessive fear of his environment. If he is too afraid of a small snake or lizard to kill it, or if he is afraid to walk in the swamp lest he be pricked by a thorn, his older *brothers* will tease him and his parents will scold him. An overanxious child is usually called a "baby" in a derogatory manner.

The warnings of parents and older siblings include supernatural dangers. A child is taught that certain glens, springs, rocks, and trees are dwelling places of *marsalai*, and he learns the names of the supernatural beings who inhabit them. He is warned that, if he goes too near one of these places, the monster will cause a violent storm and high wind that may blow down the dwelling of his parents, or it will "shoot" a sago needle into his foot for disturbing it. Such a needle, although invisible, is very painful and can be removed only by adult operators who have mastered the special magical technique. Actual storms and unseen needles are used to impress the validity of these beliefs upon the child. Whenever there is a severe storm, the adults in the hamlet speculate as to who has disturbed the *marsalai*. Was it Yat who was clearing a garden too near to the rock in which Kumbundum dwelt, or was it Wof who went hunting near the bog inhabited by Kurumbukwas? Similarly when a child reported that he had a pain in his foot which felt like a thorn but which he could not see, his parents would say: "There, you see. You have been 'shot' by a *marsalai*. We told you to beware of disturbing them."

A child is warned that he should not go near the house tamberan while the yam-cult ceremonies are being held. He is told that at this time the adult men of the tribe consort with *marsalai*. He is warned that although men can do so